

Cyrus the Great and the Kingdom of Anshan

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Introduction

The fact that a lecture series on the “Idea of Iran” commences with the Elamite contribution to Iranian identity is, to say the least, anomalous. For it is no exaggeration to state that, traditionally, the subject of Iranian cultural identity has been examined through an Indo-European or more specifically Indo-Iranian lens, leaving the Elamites entirely out of the equation.¹ In the course of preparing this essay I was led to a re-examination of Cyrus the Great’s relationship with the kingdom of Anshan, and more broadly with the Elamite cultural crucible in which, as I will argue, what we call the Persian empire was forged. To begin with, however, I would like to say a few words about the study of Cyrus, the Persians and the Elamites.

Working broadly from a 19th-century model of Indo-European origins which has been gradually modified over the years, most scholars have either tacitly assumed or actively asserted that Iranian-language speakers were not native to the area we call the Iranian Plateau; rather, they were immigrants. This is a view which is based generally on notions, few of which are demonstrable in fact, about the existence and location of an original Indo-European homeland, with the implicit understanding that wherever this may have been, it most certainly lay *outside* of Iran proper, be it on the steppes of the Ukraine and southern Russia, in the Urals, in Central Asia or, as Lord Renfrew has argued, in Anatolia.²

Coupled with this belief is an assertion that Iranian speakers – proto-Iranians, as they are sometimes referred to, and later Medes, Persians and perhaps others – did not enter Iran until the 2nd or early 1st millennium BC. Greyware, the cult of fire and etymologically Old Iranian personal names in Mesopotamian and Neo-Elamite cuneiform sources have all been adduced as cultural markers which flag the arrival of this new population. The fact that no cultural uniformity can be demonstrated across Iran in either the late 2nd or the

early 1st millennium BC, however, has scarcely diminished the zeal with which some scholars seem to pursue those elusive first Iranians on Iranian soil.

Of course, a belief that the Iranians were not present in Iran until some time in the 2nd or early 1st millennium BC in no way conflicts with a view that the region was nonetheless inhabited prior to their arrival. Archaeological evidence of settlement in Iran extends well back into the Pleistocene period and certainly there is ample evidence of Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age occupation across the length and breadth of Iran,³ proving that the region was inhabited long before the first people bearing Iranian names – mentioned in Assyrian cuneiform sources of the 9th century BC – appeared in the western Zagros mountains on the eastern frontier of Assyria.⁴ It is important to stress, however, that the archaeological assemblages of Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age Iran are far from uniform. On the contrary, they provide ample evidence of cultural diversity in pre-Iron Age Iran. Ceramic styles alone should never be used to identify ethnic groups, but when ceramics, architecture, seals, metals and the other forms of material culture that have survived in the archaeological record show such marked regionalism as is the case in Iran, I think it is fair to interpret that diversity of material accoutrements as a genuine reflection of *cultural* diversity.

This cultural diversity may also be reflected in the toponymy of Bronze and Iron Age Iran. From the time when regions east of Mesopotamia begin to appear in the cuneiform record in the late 3rd millennium BC to the period of the Assyrian campaigns in the Zagros and Khuzestan, we see a substantial increase in the number of place names and ethnic names which must, judging by the context in which they occur, have lain to the east of the Tigris, even if most remain unidentified. The summary accounts of Tiglath-Pileser III's campaigns in the Zagros region, for example, include references to no fewer than 41 different toponyms.⁵ Of course a multiplicity of place names does not necessarily denote a multiplicity of cultures or differentiated social groups, but I think that, on analogy with what we know from the Achaemenid period, when Herodotus could characterise the provinces of the Persian empire by dress and armament, we may take the diversity of material culture attested archaeologically, in tandem with the numerous place names and ethnic names known from the cuneiform sources, as an indication of a fairly high degree of group differentiation in Iran at this time.

You will note, however, that while I have used the term “cultural diversity” I have intentionally said nothing about ethnicity or linguistic diversity. Over half a century ago the anthropologist Franz Boas⁶ explicitly warned of the dangers of conflating what he referred to as “race, language and culture”, which we might nowadays prefer to call biological, linguistic and cultural diversity. I do not share the enthusiasm of some archaeologists for speculating on the linguistic affiliations of archaeological cultures, whether Indo-European or otherwise, having never had a conversation with a potsherd or stone tool. Just how linguistically diverse Iran may have been down through the pre-Achaemenid Iron Age is impossible to say. Was it like the highlands of Papua

New Guinea, one of the most linguistically diverse regions in the world,⁷ where mutually unintelligible languages are today spoken in virtually adjacent inter-montane valleys? It certainly wasn't monolingual. We have no idea about linguistic diversity in Iran until we reach the late 3rd millennium BC. From this period, however, we have Sumerian and Akkadian texts which at least provide us with some information on the situation in western Iran.

To be sure, there were almost certainly groups in which languages were spoken which have since died out. Many of the personal names of individuals said to come from Shimashki, Marhashi, Zabshali, Tukrish and other eastern areas in Mesopotamian sources cannot be classified linguistically as Elamite, Kassite or Hurrian and must reflect no longer extant languages, the names of which we do not even know. This would explain the occurrence of names of individuals such as Arzana, described as "Anshanite" in an Ur III text from Lagash; Si/Ziringu, identified as a Shimashkian; and most of the 46 individuals identified in cuneiform sources as Marhashians, none of whom has an Elamite or otherwise classifiable name.⁸

Elam

It is against this backdrop that we must situate Elam and the Elamites (Fig. 1). Even though we have few Elamite texts prior to the late 2nd millennium BC, the frequent attestation of Elam and the Elamites in Mesopotamian sources from the mid-3rd millennium onwards and the history of Mesopotamian–Elamite military conflict, which can be traced for over 2000 years, both suggest that the Elamites were one of the most important of the indigenous groups⁹ in Iran before the formation of the Persian empire. We are, I think, therefore fully justified in at least canvassing the possibility that Elam and the Elamites contributed something which may have been overlooked in previous studies of the formation of Iranian identity and the "idea of Iran". To begin with, however, it may be helpful to say something more precise about the geographical parameters of this inquiry.

Defining the limits of Elam and the Elamite cultural and linguistic sphere is never going to be more than an approximation. If we look for written sources – cuneiform texts, not all of which are contemporary – in conjunction with architectural and ceramic coherence, then the area more or less coterminous with the modern provinces of Khuzestan and the western half of Fars can be considered the Elamite core area. Beginning in the northeast, a Middle Elamite brick of Hutelutush-Inshushinak was discovered only a few years ago on the surface of Tul-e Afghani near Lordegan in the Bakhtiyari mountains,¹⁰ while to the northwest silver vessels with late Neo-Elamite inscriptions on them are known from the Kalmakarreh hoard found near Pol-e Dokhtar.¹¹ The most easterly, pre-Achaemenid Elamite texts come from Tal-e Malyan, on the Marv Dasht plain in central Fars,¹² while the southernmost examples come from

Tul-e Peytul, ancient Liyan, near modern Bushire on the Persian Gulf.¹³ The westernmost Elamite texts come from Susa,¹⁴ and in spite of the fact that ceramics and other typically Elamite examples of material culture have been excavated at Tepe Farukhabad and Tepe Musiyan in the Deh Luran plain,¹⁵ which are even further west, no epigraphic finds have yet been made there to my knowledge.

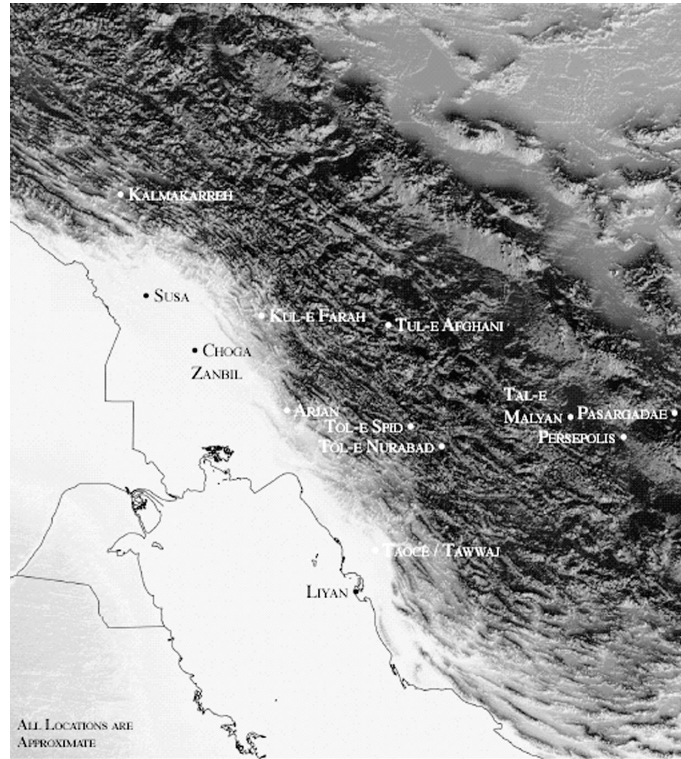


Fig. 1. Map showing the principal sites in southwestern Iran mentioned in the text.

Thus, very crudely, we could delimit the core Elamite cultural zone by circumscribing the area between the Deh Luran plain, Bushire, Marv Dasht and Tul-e Afghani, bearing in mind that the limits of this area will have fluctuated through time. Moreover, we know that this area was identified by more than just one name, but perhaps the two most prominent, supra-regional names here were Elam and Anshan. Although scholars of the late 19th and early 20th century such as de Harlez, Sayce, Halévy and Delattre speculated unsuccessfully on the location of Anshan,¹⁶ and Prášek insisted that the Anshan of the Gudea inscriptions and that of the Cyrus Cylinder (see below) were different,¹⁷ the discovery of inscribed bricks at Tal-e Malyan in the early 1970s

proved that this was the location of Anshan the city,¹⁸ while Anshan the region was presumably located around it. Anshan thus constituted the eastern, highland component of what has often been interpreted as a bipartite Elamite state,¹⁹ with Shushan, the area around Susa, its most important western component. Numerous other toponyms, such as Huhnur, Bashime or Mishime and Ayapir,²⁰ were probably located between Anshan and Shushan, but their precise location is not important for us at the moment. For the present, this definition of the Elamite core area, though crude, suffices to illustrate that a significant overlap exists between it and one of the most important areas of ancient Iranian identity, namely Parsa or Persis, the heartland of the Persians and later Sasanians, with Pasargadae, Persepolis, Naqsh-e Rostam and Istakhr all clustered in close proximity to each other.

In and of itself this proximity, or indeed overlap, need signify nothing. After all, one can point to numerous pre-modern archaeological cultures which were, so to speak, genetically unrelated to those that later occupied the same territory. Connections between successive cultures occupying the same territorial niche must be proven, not assumed, a view which is surely relevant to our examination of the relationship between Elam and Parsa. I also believe that we should acknowledge the existence of very different sorts of data which may be telling us very different things about the relationship between Elamites and Persians. In other words, we may be able to discern links between Elam and later Iranian cultural manifestations on a variety of levels, not all of which should be valued equally.

One could say for example that, at a very basic level, the skills of Elamite metalsmiths, architects, potters and artists all contributed to the fund of technological experience and wisdom from which all subsequent inhabitants of southwestern Iran have benefited. In a sense this is not wrong, but clearly the very generic skills implied may not signify very much. Nor does the fact, stated in Darius Susa f (DSf), that the stone used to make the columns for Darius' palace at Susa came from the Elamite village of Hapiradush or Abiradu necessarily signify much. This can hardly be taken as evidence of an Elamite contribution to Achaemenid stoneworking, particularly as the text goes on to tell us that the masons who actually worked the stone were Ionians and Sardians.²¹

The evidence of writing and administrative technology is another area which has been explored over the years with a view to demonstrating an Old Persian debt to Elamite literacy and accountancy. It is now generally accepted that the Old Persian writing system was developed, indeed "invented", in the reign of Darius.²² Clearly Neo-Elamite was the written language at Susa and in the highlands around Izeh-Malamir during the years leading up to the crystallisation of the Persian empire, and the very fact that Darius' Bisotun monument began with an Elamite text, which was later rendered in Akkadian and Old Persian, strongly suggests that Elamite was an important source of inspiration for the drafters of the Old Persian syllabary. At another level, moreover, Elamite account-technical praxis, best exemplified by the

fortification and treasury texts recovered at Persepolis, reveals an unquestionable Elamite legacy in Old Persian administrative procedure. The very scribes themselves were probably still Elamites, writing in Elamite, yet serving Persian masters. The onomasticon of the texts, on the other hand, shows clearly that the administrative personnel receiving rations and running the show were largely endowed with Persian names, and indeed Manfred Mayrhofer's analysis of the onomastic evidence in the Persepolis fortification texts showed that only about 10 per cent of the c. 2,000 individuals named in the texts bore Elamite names.²³ Statistics such as these make it moot whether the Achaemenids adopted the duck-headed bow from the Elamites, as Hinz suggested, and the curious dagger with extended guard, known as the "Elamite dagger", worn by many Persian noblemen (Fig. 2) on the Persepolis reliefs.²⁴



Fig. 2. Persian nobleman at Persepolis wearing the 'Elamite' dagger.

Similarly, the fact that Elamite deities continued to receive rations at Persepolis is of questionable significance in light of Darius' Bisotun inscription, which calls the Elamites "felons" who "do not worship Ahuramazda" (DB §72). Clearly then, one ought not to look to formal religion for signs of an Elamite legacy in Iranian religious practice. In many ways, if one wishes to adopt a

cynical perspective, all of the traits just mentioned, whether daggers or scribal conventions, can be regarded as just so many cultural epiphenomena: undoubted examples of Elamite survivals in the brave new, Iranian world of 6th- and 5th-century Parsa, but epiphenomena nonetheless which fail to convince one of any meaningful Elamite contribution to the idea of Iran or Iranian identity. But here I wish to approach the problem from quite a different standpoint, not from the highly visible cultural signature of Achaemenid Persia, i.e. the Persia forged by Darius, the first “true” Achaemenid, but from the much less well-known vantage point of Cyrus II, or Cyrus the Great, and his family, about whom much has been written but less is in fact known.

Cyrus the Great

At the outset, let me make it clear that I do not intend to undertake an exegesis of the Classical and late antique sources: Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias, Dinon, Diodorus, Strabo, Justin or Nicholas of Damascus.²⁵ Rather, I wish to look at the Babylonian sources which are far closer in date to the lifetime of Cyrus himself. These are: the so-called Cyrus Cylinder, discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in the Esagila, or great temple of Marduk, at Babylon in 1879 and published the following year by Rawlinson, to which we must add BIN II 32, in the Yale Babylonian Collection, which duplicates lines 36–45; second, the Nabonidus Chronicle, known from a large tablet in the British Museum (BM 34381) and first published in 1924;²⁶ and finally, UET 1.194 from Ur. Of these three texts, the Cyrus Cylinder is the only one to give us genealogical information. In this text, composed almost certainly by the Marduk priesthood at Babylon,²⁷ Cyrus is called “son of Kambuziya [Cambyzes], great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Kurash [Cyrus], great king, king of Anshan, great-grandson of Shishpish [Teispes], great king, king of Anshan”.²⁸ In addition to the Cyrus Cylinder’s testimony on the family of Cyrus the Great, we should also remember that the Ur text published by Gadd refers to Cyrus as “son of Kambuziya, king of Anshan”,²⁹ while the Nabonidus Chronicle, as well as the Nabonidus cylinder from Sippar, calls him, in the first instance, “king of Anshan”.³⁰

The significance of this genealogy resides in the references to Anshan and in the personal names attested. Yet in spite of the fact that these sources are well-known and straightforward, they have been consistently, if unconsciously, embellished by most commentators who read them through what might be termed a Herodotean or Hellenic lens. Examples of what I mean abound and can be found in the literature extending right back to the 1880s when the Cyrus Cylinder was first published. Without making any pretence at completeness, I offer merely a selection to illustrate what I mean.

- Nöldeke suggested that Anshan was the *Familiensitz* of Cyrus³¹ and the *first Achaemenids*.³²
- Prášek assumed that the original kingdom of the Achaemenids was limited to the tribal territory of the Pasargadae and that the title “king of Anshan” reflected the extension of *Achaemenid rule* to other areas, though he disputed that the Anshan attested in the 3rd-millennium sources was the same as that of the Achaemenid period.³³
- Wiesehöfer wrote in his entry on Fars in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* of the formation of an “independent kingdom of Anshan under a *Persian* dynasty”.³⁴
- Hansman wrote of the “*Achaemenian Kings* of Anshan”.³⁵
- Dandamaev wrote in the entry on Cyrus in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: “That Cyrus’ ancestors had ruled the *Persian tribes* for several generations is clear from both his inscriptions and contemporary historical reports”.³⁶
- De Miroschedji has argued that Cyrus’ forebears founded a *Persian* kingdom of Anshan and that Elamite heritage, in the form of an ancient title, was adopted by the “premiers souverains perses”.³⁷
- Waters, while maintaining that Cyrus and Darius were unrelated, characterised the “coup” effected by Darius and his heirs vis-à-vis the family of Cyrus as a continuation of “*Persian rule*”.³⁸
- Briant declared in his *Histoire de l’empire perse* that the first *Persian* kingdom arose in the territory of Anshan.³⁹
- Stronach has stated that “the Cyrus Cylinder not only provides what is arguably a complete list of those who preceded Cyrus as kings of Anshan, but evidence, in addition, for the conceivably continuous, independent condition of *the early Persian kingdom of Anshan* from the time that it was first founded, presumably somewhere in the years following the fall of Susa to the Assyrians in 646 B.C.”.⁴⁰

We thus have authors imputing *Achaemenid* (Nöldeke, Prášek, Hansman, Vallat) or *Persian* rule (de Miroschedji, Waters) to Cyrus’ ancestors; writing about a *Persian* kingdom of Anshan (Briant, Wiesehöfer, Stronach); and declaring that Cyrus’ family exercised sovereignty over *Persian* tribes (Dandamaev). In fact, I believe all of these scholars, and many more like them, have attributed a meaning to the Babylonian testimony which is unjustified. For the sources refer only to the land of Anshan, *never* qualifying it as a Persian domain or Cyrus and his family as Achaemenids. Cyrus himself is never identified as a Persian king of Anshan, but rather a king of Anshan plain and simple.

Anshan, as we have seen, was the name of an Elamite city and region which, from the 3rd millennium BC onwards, formed one of the core areas of highland Elam. In the 21st century BC, two kings of the Ur III dynasty – Shulgi and Shu-Sin – alternately campaigned against and gave their daughters in

marriage to the “governors” (*ensí*) of Anshan.⁴¹ The title “king of Anshan”, given in the Cyrus Cylinder to Cyrus’ father, grandfather and great-grandfather, is first attested in the early years of the 2nd millennium. A seal impression on a tablet from Susa bears the seal of Imazu, son of Kindadu, who is called **lugal** Anshan.⁴² If this Kindadu is the same person as the Kindattu mentioned in the so-called Awan/Shimashki king list from Susa, then Imazu was the son of the Shimashkian king who contributed greatly to the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur and who is referred to in a hymn to Ishbi-Erra, founder of the First Dynasty of Isin, as the “man of Elam” (**lú-Elam^{ki}**).⁴³ Several generations later, the title “king of Anshan and Susa” and “priest of Anshan and Susa” are attested in the inscriptions of Ebarti II, another ruler of Shimashki.⁴⁴ An unnamed “king of Anshan” is also attested in a year formula of Iddin-Dagan, who reigned from 1974 to 1954 BC, according to the middle chronology, and married his daughter Matum-niatum to a king of Anshan, possibly the aforementioned Imazu.⁴⁵

Around 1400 BC, the Elamite line of kings beginning with Kidinu began calling themselves “king of Susa and Anshan”. These “Kidinuids” were followed by a dynasty claiming descent from Igi-Halki, which likewise boasted of having inherited the “kingship of Susa and Anshan (Anzan)”, whereas Untash-Napirisha, the builder of Choga Zanbil and one of the most famous kings in Elamite history, called himself “king of Anshan and Susa”, thus reversing the twin toponyms again.⁴⁶ The apparent significance of the position of Susa and Anshan in the title lay not in the primacy of one or the other city at any given point in time, but rather in the intended audience for whom the inscription conveying the title was written. A study of the texts containing this title reveals that those written in Elamite always mention Anshan first, while those in Akkadian put Susa first,⁴⁷ where, in fact, Akkadian was the more common written language owing to the site’s long history of close political ties with Mesopotamia from the 3rd millennium onwards.

But to some extent all of this is ancient history, or certainly was for the ancestors of Cyrus the Great, and to explore the use of the title “king of Anshan” for Cyrus and his forebears in the Cyrus Cylinder and the Nabonidus sources we must consider several of the slightly earlier, late Assyrian military-historical sources that are far closer in date to the period in which Cyrus’ ancestors actually lived.

Elam and Assyria

Much attention has been concentrated on the texts reporting on Assurbanipal’s campaigns against the Elamites. Another text which has been repeatedly discussed but is still, in my opinion, largely unappreciated comes from the reign of Assurbanipal’s grandfather, Sennacherib.

To begin with, it should be noted that, by Sennacherib's time, the titulary of the Elamite kings no longer included Anshan, as in "king of Susa and Anshan" or "king of Anshan and Susa". Indeed, the Babylonian Chronicle consistently refers to the contemporaries of Sennacherib as "king of Elam".⁴⁸ Putting these two facts together we might suggest that Elam, in this period, comprised Susa and its hinterland, with the provinces of Nagite, Hilu, Billatu and Hupapanu, all described as "provinces of Elam" on a prism of Sennacherib now in the Oriental Institute, as well as some important cities like the so-called "royal city" of Madaktu, but that the *political* state of Elam no longer included Anshan. In fact, this interpretation is confirmed later in the same prism inscription of Sennacherib where the events of 691 BC are described. There we learn that Umman-menanu or Humban-nimena III, called "king of Elam", "gathered to himself a large body of confederates – (the men) of Parsua, Anzan, Pashiru, Ellipi, the whole of Chaldaea, and all the Aramaeans" prior to the battle of Halule.⁴⁹

Twenty years ago Briant suggested that Persian participation in this alliance – which he inferred from the presence of the toponym Parsua – may have come at a high price for the Elamites of the lowlands. He felt that the Persians may only have joined Humban-nimena in return for an acknowledgement of Persian territorial sovereignty over Fars.⁵⁰ In fact, notwithstanding the long debate on the location of Parsua,⁵¹ such an interpretation of Sennacherib's rather laconic inscription is by no means obligatory and I would prefer to take a far more straightforward approach to our source. Parsua, after all, is simply named as one member of the anti-Assyrian coalition. It is given no prominence whatsoever, and for this reason I think the circumstantial conclusions drawn by Briant from his reading of the Sennacherib prism are unjustified. What is striking, however, is the fact that Anshan, of which we have heard so little since the Middle Elamite period, appears here as an independent entity, one of Elam's confederates, and this I take to be significant. This suggests to me that while the "kingdom of Anshan and Susa" was no longer a reality,⁵² a highland Elamite kingdom or recognised entity led by a chief and identifiable as "Anshan" *did* exist. And it is here, I would argue, that we have a geopolitical locus in which to place the line of Anshanite kings enumerated in the Cyrus Cylinder, even if, chronologically, the eldest ancestor of Cyrus, Shishpish, may not have reigned until about 50 years after the battle of Halule.

The basic point, however, is that the highland polity of Anshan that allied itself with the lowland state of Elam in 691 was the polity in which the family of Cyrus dwelt. Thus, contrary to such scholars as de Miroschedji and, more recently, W. Henkelman, I would see neither the use of the geographical term "Anshan" by Sennacherib nor the title "king of Anshan" in the Cyrus Cylinder and related inscriptions as in any way anachronistic or archaising.⁵³ Rather, I take the purport of Sennacherib's text to be that the allies of lowland Elam included no fewer than four distinct regions which are to be located in the Iranian highlands, i.e. Parsua, Anshan, Pashiru and Ellipi. And this suggests that, during Sennacherib's reign, a corona of areas can be distinguished outside

the control of Elam, by then a lowland rump state based at Susa, which were nevertheless close enough to be worried by the Assyrian threat. One of these areas, I suggest, is the Anshan which the Cyrus Cylinder says was ruled by the ancestors of Cyrus the Great, an Anshan that was culturally *Elamite*, not Persian.

Furthermore, that such smaller polities did in fact exist, and did support local elites, is demonstrated clearly by archaeological and epigraphic evidence. For example, at Kul-e Farah, in northeastern Khuzestan, Elamite inscriptions refer to events such as the suppression of revolts and the capture of rebellious chieftains by Hanni, *kutur* or governor of Ayapir, who was a subordinate of a “king Shutur-Nahunte, son of Indada”.⁵⁴ Similarly, the rich burial from Arjan, recently discussed at length by both Stronach and Alvarez-Mon, and attributable to one Kidin-Hutran, son of Kurlush, thanks to inscribed objects found in the tomb (Fig. 3), points to the presence of yet another aristocratic line

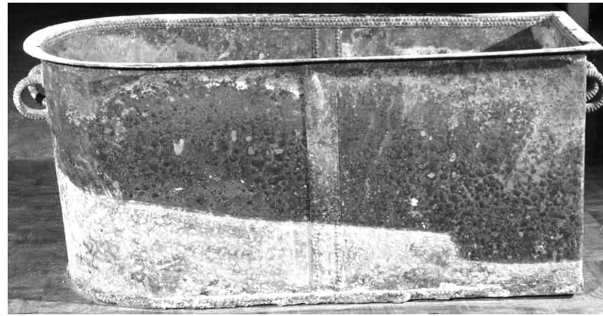


Fig. 3. Bath-tub coffin of Kidin-Hutran, son of Kurlush, from the Neo-Elamite tomb at Arjan.

in the Behbahan area of eastern Khuzestan⁵⁵ to which a cylinder seal in the Louvre, bearing the legend “Parsirra, son of Kurlush” (Fig. 4), perhaps a brother of Kidin-Hutran, may also have belonged. And finally, the extraordinary Kalma-karrah hoard found near Pol-e Dokhtar contained silver vessels inscribed in Elamite which mention no fewer than four kings of Samati.⁵⁶ This evidence almost certainly points to the existence during the 6th century BC of a polity independent of Elamite Susa in what is today southern Luristan, probably in the southern portion of what had been referred to in Assyrian sources as Ellipi.

Although the accounts of Assurbanipal’s devastating campaigns against Susa and a host of smaller cities in the mid-7th century BC contain no reference to



Fig. 4. Modern impression of a cylinder seal in the Louvre, bearing the legend ‘Parsirra, son of Kurlush’ (after Amiet 1973).

Anshan, this need not imply that an independent Anshan no longer existed. Indeed, Anshan's alliance with Elam in 691, culminating in the defeat at Halule, may well have deterred Anshan from proffering further aid to her western neighbour. One issue which must be discussed in this regard, however, arises from the latest edition of Assurbanipal's annals, Edition A from 643 BC, which refers to two leaders from the Iranian sphere who sent tribute to the Assyrian monarch upon learning of his decisive victory over Elam. Following Assurbanipal's sack of Susa, Kurash, king of Parsumash, and Pizlume, king of Hudimiri, are both said to have acknowledged the Assyrian king with tribute, and Kurash even sent his son Arukku to Nineveh.⁵⁷

In the past many scholars⁵⁸ have suggested that Kurash of Parsumash was the same as the Kurash, king of Anshan, mentioned in the Cyrus Cylinder. Chronologically it is entirely possible for Kurash of Parsumash to have been the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, notwithstanding recent attempts to reject this scenario,⁵⁹ but two points compel me now to consider this unlikely, indeed impossible. First, I believe it is clear from Sennacherib's prism that Parsua or Parsumash was distinct from Anshan,⁶⁰ the region that Cyrus' forefathers are said to have ruled. Second, Kurash is a personal name attested in both Neo-Babylonian sources from Babylon and in late Neo-Elamite texts from Susa,⁶¹ and hence by no means rare or unique. For these reasons I would reject the equation of Kurash of Parsumash with Kurash of Anshan.⁶² On the other hand, however, I believe that the well-known seal impressions from Persepolis, found on five of the Persepolis fortification tablets, which bear the legend "Kurash, the Anshanite, son of Shishpish" (Fig. 5), most certainly preserve for us the testimony of a seal which belonged to Cyrus' grandfather and namesake in the Cyrus Cylinder inscription.⁶³



Fig. 5. Composite drawing of impressions on Persepolis fortification texts 596–695 and 2003 by M.C. Root and M.B. Garrison, bearing the legend 'Kurash the Anshanite, son of Shishpish' (after Garrison and Root 1996).

Much has been written about this piece, and I find myself disagreeing with numerous scholars whom I greatly admire over the interpretation of this important document. Two years ago, for example, T. Cuyler Young discussed

this seal impression and claimed that its allegedly Achaemenid style, which he said – following de Miroschedji’s 1985 discussion of the iconography – dated it to the time of Darius I or slightly earlier, ruled out any possible association with Kurash of Parsumash.⁶⁴ By contrast, several years earlier, in one of the Lukonin seminars, Stronach asserted that the seal used to make this impression was “of a distinctly older date” than the Persepolis texts on which it had been impressed – obviously differing from Young and de Miroschedji on the interpretation of the seal’s style. Stronach went on to suggest that, “while there can be no absolute certainty that ‘Cyrus of Parsumash’ was a direct ancestor of Cyrus the Great, there has to be ... a strong presumption that this was the case”, concluding, “it is increasingly tempting to associate this seemingly assertive ‘Persian’ ruler with the spirited ‘Anshanite’ Cyrus (or Kurash) of the royal seal impression” from Persepolis.⁶⁵ Later, Stronach changed his mind: “Whatever ancestral relationship ‘Kurash of Parsumash,’ ... is likely to have had with the subsequent Persian rulers of Fars, I now think it preferable to assume that he ruled before the creation of the explicitly-named Anshanite dynasty of Teispes”.⁶⁶ Still later, he ruled out categorically any equation of Cyrus I and Kurash of Parsumash.⁶⁷ And finally, in a recent paper, J. Alvarez-Mon states that Assurbanipal’s sack of Susa “obliged Kurash (Cyrus), son of Teispes, to surrender his son Arukku to the court of Assurbanipal”,⁶⁸ thus conflating the two Kurashes by equating the son of Teispes (Kurash of Anshan) with the father of Arukku (Kurash of Parsumash), inferences which are entirely unwarranted by the sources.

In my opinion, each of these scholars (with the exception of Stronach’s recent statements) has conflated *precisely* what I have been at pains to keep separate, namely Parsua or Parsumash and Anshan. If Parsumash and Anshan were distinct entities, as I believe they most certainly were, the former predominantly ethnically Persian and the latter predominantly ethnically Elamite, then Kurash of Parsumash and Kurash the Anshanite cannot have been the same individual and the seal of Kurash the Anshanite cannot be attributed to Kurash of Parsumash. Moreover, following this line of reasoning, Kurash of Parsumash cannot have been a son of Teispes/Shishpish, for this filiation applies only to Kurash of Anshan. While I do not believe that de Miroschedji and Young are correct in their relatively late stylistic attribution of the seal that made these impressions, this does not of course mean that I would use an earlier date, as proposed by Stronach, to argue for the attribution of the seal to Kurash of Parsumash.⁶⁹ On the other hand, while I agree with Stronach on chronology, I believe that in his Lukonin lecture he uncharacteristically misunderstood what I consider a critical point.

For the Cyrus Cylinder does not call Kurash and his ancestors kings of Parsumash but kings of Anshan. Therefore I cannot accept that Kurash of Parsumash could possibly be the ancestor of Kurash, founder of the Persian empire, nor can I accept that Kurash and his Anshanite line were *Persian* or *Achaemenid* in the sense implied by Stronach and assumed by Nöldeke, de Miroschedji, Vallat, Briant, Wiesehöfer, Dandamaev and many other scholars.

But to explain this more fully we must return to the genealogy of Cyrus the Great (Table 1). It has long been recognised that the genealogy of the Cyrus Cylinder differs from that given by Herodotus for Xerxes and the family of Darius or by Darius himself in the Bisotun inscription. Since Rawlinson's original publication of the Cyrus Cylinder in 1880, a host of scholars have tried to harmonise these genealogies, mainly by conflating them. About six years ago, Cyrus' family tree was the subject of an exhaustive study by R. Rollinger who showed – convincingly, in my opinion – that the divergent traditions of Cyrus and Darius, which we see in effect merged by Herodotus, should certainly not be conflated.⁷⁰ Darius' attempt to co-opt Cyrus and his line, best exemplified by his forgery of the so-called Cyrus Murghab inscriptions at Pasargadae,⁷¹ was nothing but a political manoeuvre.⁷² If we follow the Cyrus Cylinder, however, then his eponymous ancestor was Shishpish, or Teispes, as Herodotus called him. Hence, the line of Cyrus should be qualified as "Shishpishid" or "Teispid", whereas that of Darius alone, descending from Achaemenes, should be properly considered "Achaemenid".⁷³

<i>Cyrus cylinder</i>	<i>Bisotun</i>	<i>Herodotus</i>
Kurash [Cyrus II]	Darius	Xerxes
Kambuziya [Cambyes I]	Hystaspes	Darius
Kurash [Cyrus I]	Arsames	Hystaspes
Shishpish [Teispes]	Ariaramnes	Arsames
	Shishpish	Ariaramnes
	Achaemenes	Teispes
		Cyrus
		Cambyes
		Teispes
		Achaemenes

Table 1. Genealogies of Cyrus (Cyrus Cylinder), Darius (Bisotun) and Xerxes (Herodotus 7.11).

Recently, David Stronach wrote: "For those who are interested in the formation of the Achaemenid Persian empire it ... remains not a little mysterious that Cyrus I, Cyrus II, and even Cambyes II (530 BCE–520 BCE) can each be shown to have insisted on the 'Anshanite' identity of their ancestors".⁷⁴ I believe we can conclude that the members of this Teispid line were, just as Cyrus claims, and as Sayce and others argued in the late 19th century, kings of Anshan, and that the Anshan in question was a more or less independent polity in Fars, distinct from Parsua, Parsumash and Parshiru, which were predominantly Persian. I suggest that Anshan in this period was: 1) linguistically and culturally Elamite; 2) independent of the lowland "Elamite" kings of Susa attested in the Assyrian sources; yet 3) willing to join in an anti-Assyrian coalition against Sennacherib when called upon to render service. I reject as an oxymoron the description of the realm ruled by Shishpish and his

descendants, and proffered by generations of scholars, as a *Persian* or *Achaemenid* kingdom of Anshan⁷⁵ and instead would insist that the adjective Persian be replaced, as Sennacherib's text implies, by Anshanite (rather than Elamite, which in the later Assyrian period tended simply to describe lowland Susiana and its immediate environs). As to the objection, raised by de Miroschedji 20 years ago, that the site of Tal-e Malyan, the city of ancient Anshan, has no evidence of late Neo-Elamite occupation which we may associate with the period in which Cyrus' ancestors lived,⁷⁶ I would simply note that Tal-e Malyan is a very large mound, only a small portion of which has been explored to date. Thus there is every chance that a Neo-Elamite settlement is present somewhere on the site. But even if it isn't, Teispid rule over Anshan could have been based at any number of other sites in the region of Anshan with early 1st millennium BC occupation.

The Elamite or Anshanite nature of the Teispids can also be examined from the standpoint of their personal names. Several years ago Jean Kellens asserted, "Les trois noms de la lignée de Cyrus ne s'expliquent ni dans le cadre iranien ancien, ni dans le cadre indo-iranien, ni même, pour deux d'entre eux, par l'étymologie indo-européenne".⁷⁷ Let us begin with Teispes. The Belgian Iranologist Jan Tavernier, whose dissertation dealt with Old Iranian personal names in non-Iranian texts of the Achaemenid period,⁷⁸ lists Teispes, or Chishpish, as one of those non-Iranian names which is normally classified, erroneously, as Iranian but which must belong to an Elamite, Aramaic, Babylonian, Lydian or other linguistic milieu. In its Elamite form the name is written Z/Shishpish, as it appears in Darius' Bisotun inscription (DB I 4; DBa 5) and in two of the Persepolis fortification texts (PF 388: 3–4; 524: 3), incorporating the Elamite verbal stem *pish-* meaning "renew, restore".⁷⁹ With respect to Kambuziya [Cambyzes], the situation is more complex. Although Hüsing suggested in 1908 that the name might be Elamite and Frye suggested in 1962 that Cambyzes "may carry a non-Iranian name",⁸⁰ some scholars have emphasised the Sanskrit and Avestan parallels for the initial *Kam-* and compared it with the Indian ethnic and toponym Kamboja.⁸¹ Skalmowski has suggested that the name is an adjectival form from a compound like **kamp + auj-ias-* (cf. Sanskrit *kampate* "he trembles", Avestan **auj*, as in *aojyah*, "stronger than"), meaning "unshaken, stronger than trembling, *intrepidus*",⁸² although this is not considered very likely by some scholars.⁸³ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we come to Kurash or Cyrus. Tavernier classifies this as "pseudo-Iranica" and follows F.C. Andreas' suggestion, made in 1902 at the International Orientalist Congress in Hamburg,⁸⁴ that Cyrus was "kein Perser", but an Anshanite, with an Elamite name. The putative Iranian etymology of Kurush as "youth, child" is contradicted by the Elamite and Babylonian transcription of the name, which is always Kurash, never Kurush. Particularly given the fact that Elamite names ending in *-ush*, such as Hutelutush, are well known, it is unlikely that, if Kurush were the original, Babylonian or Assyrian scribes would have transcribed it using a final *-ash*.

Rather, it seems more plausible to suggest that Elamite Kurash sounded alien to Persian ears and was transformed in Persian usage to Kurush, or that there was an Old Persian name Kurush, as distinct from Elamite Kurash, a name already attested in the Ur III period.⁸⁵

The implications of Cyrus' Elamite identity

If Cyrus was indeed an Anshanite, with an Elamite name, then our conception of the Elamite contribution to Iranian identity, of the formation of the Persian empire and of Cyrus' achievements generally must be seriously re-evaluated. But before considering some of the wider implications of this thesis, I would like to raise a few more issues which suggest that a nuanced approach is required to understand the late Elamite cultural phenomenon. We know from the onomasticon of the Susa Acropole texts, which probably date to shortly before Cyrus' formation of the new empire, that Iranian speakers were present in Elamite territory during the mid-6th century BC, and we have Neo-Assyrian sources as well which attest to their presence in the western Zagros several centuries earlier.⁸⁶ We have, likewise, numerous Assyrian references to Median groups in the Zagros. My point here is merely to underscore the fact that, by the 6th century BC, southwestern Iran was even more multicultural and multilingual than it had been in the past two millennia, thanks to the presence of Indo-European speakers in ever-growing numbers, something we see clearly in the onomasticon of Neo-Elamite and Royal Achaemenid Elamite texts.⁸⁷ Certainly we know that names do not tell the whole story of a person's ethnicity. Several centuries later, for example, Babylonian mothers and fathers at Uruk occasionally gave their children Greek names. But, for the sake of argument, let us assume for the moment that Cyrus was indeed an Elamite-speaking Anshanite, as were his grandfather and great-grandfather. His father, on the other hand, Kambuziya, *may* have an Indo-European name.

Even if we cannot be certain that these names reflect ethnic identity, we do know that Iranian speakers were present in the region. The Sennacherib prism shows that the culturally Elamite polities of Susiana and Anshan were already neighbours of groups led by Iranian-speaking chiefly families, and intermarriage, for purposes of alliance-building, with attendant cultural blending, was almost certainly a by-product of such a situation. Cyrus' own family, therefore, while it probably had a far more Elamite cast than Darius', was not necessarily monocultural or monoethnic or even monolingual. Nor should we think that Fars was simply bi-cultural either. There were almost certainly groups in which non-Iranian and non-Elamite languages were spoken which have since died out.⁸⁸ For Kellens, intermarriage with Iranian-speaking groups on the part of the indigenous Elamite substratum contributed to "l'iranisation progressive de toutes les ethnies de l'Elam".⁸⁹ Cyrus' Anshanite identity may also find a reflex in Nicholas of Damascus (Frag. 64) and Ctesias,

who say that Cyrus was a Mardian.⁹⁰ Rather than assimilating this with the Amardoi of the northern Zagros,⁹¹ it is more likely that these authors were referring to the same group called the “Mardoi” by Strabo, who identified them as “brigands” (*Geog.* 15.3.1) inhabiting that part of Persis known as Mardene (Arrian, *Ind.* 40; Curtius 4.12.7.5, 6). Forbiger located Mardene north of Taocê – medieval Tawwaj and modern Borazjan – and Spiegel concurred, putting it in “etwa das Gebiet der jetzigen Mamasseni”.⁹² As Briant noted over 20 years ago,⁹³ it is tempting to identify Mardoi/Mardene with the Elamite toponym Mardash, which Hinz, Koch and Vallat situated somewhere in Persis.⁹⁴ If Forbiger and Spiegel were correct in placing Mardene in western Fars, i.e. in the Mamassani region north of Taocê (a possibility but by no means a certainty), then it was located in an area rich in monuments where the joint expedition that Kouroush Roustaei and I have been directing for the past two years is working.⁹⁵ Our excavations have focused on two large mounds, Tol-e Nurabad and Tol-e Spid, where recent excavations have revealed Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid as well as much earlier occupation dating back to c. 6000 BC.⁹⁶

Finally, if what we today call the *Persian* empire was, in fact, originally an *Anshanite* empire, established by Kurash, king of Anshan, then its creation must be seen not as a new creation *ab novo* but as a major *revival* in the political fortunes of a group which had not risen to such heights since Shutruk-Nahhunte brought about the downfall of the Kassite dynasty. Already a force in Sennacherib’s time, the kingdom of Anshan may well have been aided by Assurbanipal’s crushing attack on Susa, an act which could have enabled the increasing ascendancy of the Teispids in highland Anshan,⁹⁷ a region which remained beyond the reach of Assyrian military operations.

By the same token, if the kingdom so brilliantly expanded by Cyrus was Anshanite, then Darius’ seizure of power upon the death of Cyrus’ son Cambyses emerges as a Persian *coup d’état* which replaced the Anshanite, Teispid family of Cyrus with the Persian line of Achaemenes headed by Darius. In this context, therefore, the attempts by no fewer than three Elamite leaders – Hashshina/Açina, Martiya and Athamaita⁹⁸ – to rebel against Darius are suggestive of a very real Elamite attempt to throw off the Persian interloper and to maintain an Elamite regime (albeit a lowland one) which Cyrus had made a world power.⁹⁹ Darius’ reign, I would argue, marked the commencement of the Achaemenid or Persian empire, while that of Cyrus marked the ascendancy of an Anshanite state, the existence of which can be detected during the reign of Sennacherib and the remote ancestry of which went back to the unified kingdom of Anshan and Susa in the early 2nd millennium BC.

Notes

1. This essay is a slightly modified version of a lecture delivered on 29 April 2004 at SOAS on the Elamite contribution to Iranian identity. I would like to express my sincerest thanks to all those involved in the lecture series, particularly Prof. Robert Springborg, Director of the London Middle East Institute at SOAS; Ms Sarah Stewart (SOAS), who dealt with many of the practical arrangements associated with my visit; Dr Vesta Curtis (British Museum); and all of the members of the Soudavar Memorial Foundation, whose generosity contributed enormously to the success of my visit. I would in particular like to mention Dr Abolola Soudavar, who kindly sent me several offprints of relevance to my topic. Subsequently, I delivered a variant of the original lecture at the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard, the University of Michigan, UCLA and the University of California (Berkeley), and benefited enormously from the questions and comments of many scholars, in particular Prof. Ran Zadok, Prof. P.O. Skjærvø, Prof. P. Michalowski, Prof. G. Windfuhr, Prof. R. Shayegan, Prof. E. Carter, Prof. M. Feldman, Prof. N. Veldhuis and Prof. M. Schwartz. I am grateful to all of these scholars and numerous students who also commented upon the central thesis of the lecture, particularly J. Alvarez-Mon, but remain solely responsible for the views expressed here. Waters 2004 appeared after the completion of this article and I have not attempted to deal with each and every point made in that important article but simply with those issues that seemed most germane to my own arguments.
2. Bellwood 2001: 196; Parpola 2002: 233–48. See Lamberg-Karlovsky 2002 for a recent summary.
3. Voigt and Dyson 1992.
4. Zadok 2002.
5. *Ibid.*: Table 1.
6. Boas 1940.
7. The highlands of Papua New Guinea exhibit “By far the greatest linguistic diversity in the modern world ... with 1000 of the modern world’s 6000 languages, and with dozens of language isolates or families that have no demonstrable relationship to each other or to any language outside New Guinea”, according to Diamond and Bellwood (2003: 600).
8. See Zadok 1991: 226, 229.
9. In actual fact we do not know for certain that the Elamites were “indigenous”, but they were certainly present in southwestern Iran from the beginning of recorded history. Whether they represent a group which coalesced out of still older, prehistoric groups inhabiting the region or entered the area some time prior to the beginnings of writing, we simply do not know.
10. Unpublished; personal communication from Mr Norouzi, ICHTO, Shahr-e Kord.
11. See e.g. Henkelman 2003b: 214–27.
12. Stolper 1984.
13. König 1965.
14. *Ibid.*
15. See Carter 1981: 218.
16. See de Harlez 1882, 1883; Sayce 1882, 1886; Halévy 1883; Delattre 1883a–b.
17. See Prášek 1912: 6.
18. Reiner 1973.
19. Vallat 1980.
20. S.v. Vallat 1993.

21. See Potts 1999: 328.
22. Stronach 1990, 2000.
23. Mayrhofer 1973: 310.
24. See Potts 1999: 342ff.
25. Cf. Dandamaev 1993a: 517.
26. Smith 1924.
27. Dandamaev 1993b: 521.
28. Berger 1975: 197, l. 21.
29. Gadd, Legrain and Smith 1928: no. 194, ll. 1–3.
30. Grayson 1975: 106, ii 1; cylinder text cited from Beaulieu 1989, where it appears as text 15. The assertion, “In a Babylonian text Cyrus II gives his line of descent from Achaemenes, the eponymous founder of the family, as Teispes, Cyrus, and finally Cambyzes” (Hansman 1975: 289), is utterly baseless. Hansman also draws the equally unfounded conclusion that Parsumash = Anshan, since he equates Kurash of Parsumash with Kurash, king of Anshan (*ibid.*: 290).
31. Nöldeke 1887: 15.
32. I have this reference via Briant 1984 but have only been able myself to consult the 1896 French translation of this work, which appeared as Nöldeke T. 1896. *Études historiques sur la Perse ancienne*. Paris: Ledroux. Cf. Weissbach 1924: col. 188, “Die Dynastie des K. war von einem elamischen Lande oder Grenzlande (Anšan) ausgegangen”, without commenting on the ethnicity of Cyrus and his forebears.
33. Prásek 1912: 6. He also suggested, apropos the Anshan of the Achaemenids, “wir werden nicht fehlgehen, wenn wir mit ihm den gräzisierten Flusnamen Andanis und den landschaftlichen Namen Assan arabischer Geographen in Zusammenhang bringen” (*ibid.*).
34. Wiesehöfer 1999.
35. Hansman 1975: 294.
36. Dandamaev 1993a: 516.
37. De Miroschedji 1985: 298–9.
38. Waters 1996: 18.
39. Briant 1996: 27.
40. Stronach 2000: 684.
41. Potts 1999: Table 5.2.
42. *Ibid.*: 145.
43. *Ibid.*: 142–5.
44. *Ibid.*: Table 5.5.
45. Thus Vallat, see Potts 1999: 149.
46. Potts 1999: Table 7.7.
47. *Ibid.*: 211.
48. *Ibid.*: 268.
49. *Ibid.*: 272; Luckenbill 1924: 88.
50. Briant 1984: 82; Potts 1999: 273.
51. See most recently Rollinger 1999, Zadok 2002: 29–33.
52. Cf. Stronach 2003: 251.
53. Cf. Stronach 1997a: 38; *contra* Henkelman 2003b: 193. Stronach has noted: “it is of special interest that so much is made, through clearly conscious repetition, of the distinctive Anshanite titulature of Cyrus’ own blood line. While the argument is sometimes advanced that Cyrus only introduced the toponym ‘Anshan’ instead of ‘Parsa’ in his Mesopotamian inscriptions in order to give his Persian homeland a name that would have been more readily recognisable to a Mesopotamian audience,

- such an interpretation is, in the end, highly improbable. As early as 547 B.C. the Babylonian Chronicle already refers to 'Parsu' (the Akkadian form for 'Parsa') and, as the annals of the Near East make plain, royal rulers do not lightly depart from their established titulatures." (Stronach 2000: 684)
54. Potts 1999: 302–303; Henkelman 2003a: 258.
 55. Potts 1999: 303; Stronach 2003; Alvarez-Mon 2004.
 56. Henkelman 2003b: 214–27.
 57. Potts 1999: 287.
 58. E.g. Weidner 1931–2; Harmatta 1971a: 5; Hansman 1975: 290; Briant 1984: 81; Shahbazi 1993: 516; Waters 2004: 94. More examples are cited in Potts 1999: 287.
 59. See de Miroschedji 1985: 283–5; Briant 1996: 28. Shahbazi (1993: 516) argued against the chronological impossibility of such a scenario. A modern example also warns against assuming that such long reigns could never have occurred. In Kuwait the first Shaikh Sabah reigned from c. 1756 to 1762, while his grandson by the same name reigned from 1859 to 1866. See the genealogical table in the back of Dickson 1956. Bollweg (1988: 55–7, n. 16) has gone into the question of age in depth, but it is all so speculative, and the conflated genealogy offered (following W. Nagel) so fanciful, that I shall not comment upon it.
 60. Harmatta (1971b: 222) writes: "Whatever our judgement about the relationship to each other of the geographical positions of Anšan and Parsumaš may be, the report of the Assyrian royal chancellery relies upon the mission of the son of Cyrus I, thus it can very likely be regarded as authentic. Therefore, the predecessors of Cyrus bore the title 'king of *Pāršvā (>Pāršā)'. Its original Old Persian linguistic form is not known so far, but at the time when Cyrus marched against Babylon it might have been already replaced by the form *xšāyaθiya Pārsaiy*. This could then be rendered by the Babylonian compiler of the edict [Cyrus Cylinder] with the phrase *šar uru.an-ša-an*." The logic of this statement defies me.
 61. Zadok 1976: 63.
 62. Whether Parsumash = Parsua and whether these should be distinguished from Parsa, *pace* de Miroschedji 1985: 268, cf. Bollweg 1988: 53, I shall not attempt to say. This is by no means the only line of argumentation which one can use here to refute the identification of Kurash of Parsumash with Kurash of Anshan.
 63. Cf. Stronach 2000: 684–5, n. 13; 2003: 257. Also Dusinberre 2002: 43.
 64. See Young 2003: 245.
 65. Stronach 1997a: 39.
 66. Stronach 2000: 684.
 67. Stronach 2003: 157–8.
 68. Alvarez-Mon 2004: 205.
 69. Stronach (1998: 237) dates it to the late 7th century, "shortly before 600 B.C.".
 70. Rollinger 1998.
 71. Stronach 1997b.
 72. Cf. Waters 1996, 2004: 91. This had already been suspected by Hüsing (1908: 322).
 73. Rollinger 1998; cf. Stronach 1997a: 37–8.
 74. Stronach 2003: 258.
 75. Cf. Shahbazi 1993: 516, "Cyrus I was a Persian prince ruling over some localities that included Anshan"; or Dandamaev 1993a: 516, "That Cyrus' ancestors had ruled the Persian tribes for several generations is clear".
 76. Waters (2004: 92 and 94) assumes that the Anshan ruled by Cyrus was a town, i.e. Tal-e Malyan, not a region. He does not seem to recognise the difference between Anshan the region and Anshan the capital of that region.

77. Kellens 2002: 422. I would like to thank Dr Abolola Soudavar for kindly bringing this article to my attention.
78. Tavernier 2002.
79. Cf. Grillot and Vallat 1978; *contra* Harmatta 1971a: 8, who views all of the names of Kurash's family as Iranian.
80. Hüsing 1908: 320–22; Frye 1962: 87.
81. Tavernier 2002: 333.
82. Skalmowski 1993: 74–5.
83. E.g. P.O. Skjærvø, pers. comm.
84. Andreas 1904. Cf. Hoffmann-Kutschke 1907: 182, "Kurusch [Kyros] ist kein persischer, sondern elamischer Name".
85. Zadok 1991: 237, citing Forde, *Nebraska cuneiform texts*; cf. Tavernier 2002: 753, with references.
86. See, most conveniently, Zadok 2002.
87. Zadok 1991: 224.
88. Discussing the onomastic and toponymic evidence from Neo-Assyrian sources relevant to western Iran, the prolific Israeli scholar Ran Zadok has stressed the difficulty of segregating "the pre-(Indo-)Iranian substratum among the local population" from "the advancing (Indo-)Iranianization of the territory" since the "substratum is heterogeneous and varies from region to region" and "much of it belongs to entirely unknown dialects" (Zadok 2002: 15). He writes: "Only a minority can be identified with various degrees of plausibility with recorded languages, like Hurro-Urartian and Elamite. Another segment is identical or related to the onomasticon of the Kassites" (*ibid.*: 16). To these must be added the names associated with "the two most ancient groups of the territory ... viz. the Qutians and Lullubians" (*idem*). He concludes pessimistically: "On the whole, a clear-cut differentiation of the considerable linguistically unaffiliated onomasticon cannot be attained as a specific ascription to the languages of the autochthones is generally impossible" (*idem*).
89. Kellens 2002: 427.
90. I cannot, of course, follow Ctesias or Herodotus (i.98–125), who say that Cyrus was born of two Mardian parents, his mother Argoste, a goatherd, and his father Atradata, a brigand. Obviously if we believe the testimony of the Cyrus Cylinder then this is fictitious. On this evidence cf. Sayce 1882: 550. Briant (1984: 75) has suggested it is Median propaganda.
91. Cf. Marquart 1891–3: 642.
92. Forbiger 1844: 577; Spiegel 1878: 528.
93. Briant 1984: 107.
94. See Vallat 1993: 171, with references.
95. Roustaei and Potts 2004.
96. A full, monograph-length report on these excavations, in Farsi and English, has been completed and should appear in the course of 2005.
97. Cf. Kellens 2002: 425.
98. Or Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak of EKI 86–89, as argued convincingly by Waters 2000: 85–7; cf. Henkelman 2003a: 262 and supported on linguistic grounds by Tavernier.
99. As R. Shayegan pointed out to me, many other regions, besides Elam, rebelled against Darius as well, making the Elamite rebellions less amenable to the interpretation given here. While this is true, the fact that simultaneous or slightly later rebellions occurred in other regions does not necessarily mean that the rebellions in Elam were not an attempt to regain the paramount position enjoyed

briefly by the Elamites and Anshanites under Cyrus. What later tradition did with Cyrus and his family affiliation, e.g. in the association with Kai Khosro of the Kayanids (Yarshater 1983: 389; Wiesehöfer 2002: 115, n. 25; Kellens 2002: 428ff), is of no relevance here.